TRANSCRIPT

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL

"A Black View of South Africa"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Tuesday, December 15, 1970

10:00-10:30 PM, EST

With CBS News Correspondent John Hart

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

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JOHN HART: This is an illegal film. It was made by hiding a camera in a shop not far away.

This gold mine was photographed by three men masquerading as workers. They smuggled their camera into the mine under their clothes and in lunch boxes.

These pictures were made in South Africa, by black South Africans, violating laws, risking prison or even death. When these pictures and others were shown on British television the South African government called them malicious and said they had no connection with reality.

This is the black man's view of the black man's life in South Africa, where three and a half million people who are white have control over fifteen million who are not white. It is a black view of South Africa.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "A Black View of South Africa," with CBS News Correspondent John Hart.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

HART: At first you may think there's not a lot to the extraordinary film you're seeing tonight. Some pictures of some people, where they live and how they live. And not many pictures at that, certainly not enough. There have never been enough pictures of life in South Africa, especially of the blacks' life in South Africa. And we don't know of any that got out before like these, made by the blacks' secretly and at great risk to themselves. In a country where, by custom, a black man does not touch his nation's flag, it is daring indeed to take pictures that touch on his nation's character. That's what these pictures do and that's why they're worth seeing, because they show us things we haven't seen before, things we'd heard about but had few visual documents of.

It is easier for an American newsman to get into Hanoi than into South Africa. CBS News has tried repeatedly to cover South Africa as we do the other countries the United States does business with. But the only time in the last seven years we were let in was when Dr. Christiaan Barnard successfully transplanted a human heart. Carl Rowan, the black American newspaper columnist, was allowed in this year and permitted to report from South Africa. He will appear later in this broadcast.

What we are about to see is part of a longer film which has been shown on the BBC in England and on Canadian television. The makers called their original version, "End of the Dialogue." The black South Africans who took these pictures are not professional photographers. The camera equipment was smuggled to them, and so was the film, some color, some not.

It's vaguely familiar isn't it? This South Africa. Its cities are the most European on the African continent. You may have seen

it before. It builds its buildings in styles we know, makes commerce in ways we understand, and worships as many of us do. The government here spends as much as seven million dollars a year to make us familiar with this South Africa, a country whose citizens built a standard of living for themselves second only to ours in the United States. Their heroes were English and Dutch; they came from the traders and farmers who struck gold here and found diamonds, and made their own civilization, a fortress.

(MILITARY PARADE MUSIC)

HART: But there's something here you haven't seen before. What you missed were most of the people who are here - who are not really citizens. They are not even among the spectators. On the playing fields, in the Parliament they are not represented. The picture of them is the hard one to get, of what it is to be apart, to be black, or even a little black. The picture on the other side of apartheid. The pictures are theirs. The voice belong to Nana Mahomo, a South African expatriate now living in Europe, the producer of this film.

MAHOMO: This is a black township adjoining Johannesburg. The townships are 15 to 30 miles outside the white cities and are usually surrounded by fences. Under the Group Areas Act it is illegal for different racial groups to live in the same area. The day has begun at 4:00 in the morning, when the blacks started on the 15-mile journey into Johannesburg to do their jobs as domestic servants, factory workers, drivers, messengers, street sweepers and clerical workers. Six hundred thousand blacks live here.

During the day the township is almost completely deserted except for children. The parents only come back about 8:00 or 9:00 in the evening. Most mothers do domestic work which includes taking care of white children during the day. This has made black parents almost strangers to their own children. Some of these slums were condemned as long ago as the early thirties as being unfit for human habitation. But they linger on with their pollution and poverty. It requires a minimum of $48 a month for a family of four to live here. The average earnings of a man-wife team is $38 a month.

There is free education for all children, except for blacks. Ninety-two percent of those who attend school are forced to leave by the time they're 13 years old. More than 15 percent never go to school at all. On education, the government spends $175 a year for every white child, and $17 a year for every black child. A black teacher earns less than half as much as a white teacher with the same qualifications. There is free school feeding for all children, except for blacks. The school feeding scheme was extended to cover black children in the late forties. After a brief run, the scheme was dropped because members of Parliament complained that too many black children flocked to school not to learn but just to eat. A mug of soup and a slice of bread. For whites, conditions are different. A few pictures of the white world like these were taken for us by sympathetic whites. The late Prime Minister, Dr.

Verwoerd, said education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. In terms of the government's plan for South Africa, he said there is no place for the blacks in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor.

Some children earn a few pennies in the marketplace. They carry baskets for the white madam. These few pennies often hardly suffice for the bus or trainfare back to the township.

There are hardly any restaurants in Johannesburg with its one million inhabitants where blacks can be served. As a result, most blacks spend their lunch hour sitting on the sidewalk eating, resting or just whiling away the time. Park benches are for whites only. No blacks are allowed to sit inside the parks. The land in this park, like eighty-seven percent of all the land in South Africa, is by law for whites only. This is a residential area for whites in Johannesburg. The only blacks living here are servants. It is also law that the servants' quarters must be at least 15 feet from the white homes, and hidden from the road. This is a servant's quarters.

This man is here illegally. He's not allowed to live with his wife, as this is a white area. Only the wife is permitted to stay here as a domestic servant to serve the needs of her white employers. Police conduct periodic searches in the suburbs to sniff out those husbands who have sneaked into the white backyards for a night with their wives. The late Dr. Verwoerd once said black children must never be allowed to look on the green pastures where they will never graze.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: Here again is CBS News Correspondent John Hart.

HART: South Africa is rich and getting richer. With a lot of help from its friends, from the United States and France and Britain, business friends who altogether have more than four and a half billion dollars invested there. It is the only independent country on the African continent that has never asked for foreign aid. It has more gold and diamonds than any country has discovered, and is rich in poor labor. Once again Mr. Mahomo:

MAHOMO: By law, in South Africa, the color of a man's skin dictates not only where he lives, but the kind of work he does. The Job Reservation Act makes sure that whites hold certain types of jobs, and the black and other non-whites hold other types of jobs. The government can change these job classifications whenever it wants, whatever its needs. In practice, what is reserved for whites are skilled jobs, what is reserved for blacks is mostly hard labor. A man's color also determines what he will earn. A white worker is paid $395 a month. A black worker, $63 a month.

South Africa produces three quarters of the gold supply of the West. In one year, what comes out of these mines is worth $900 million and is the key to the stability of the major currencies of the Western world. The sweat of black miners, brought here from as far afield as Angola, Mozambique, Malawi and Southwest Africa, ensures the high standard of living of white South Africa.

A black miner is paid between $12 and $15 a month. Included in the wage of the black miner are free living quarters. This is a compound for the workers at this mine. Here in these quarters, 36 men share one room. Their bunks are made of concrete. The miners' contracts are for periods of 12 months, renewable until the effects of consumption or tuberculosis make them unproductive for the gold mines. During this time, they are separated from their families and have no contact with their wives or with any woman whatsoever.

It is against the law almost anywhere in South Africa for a black to own land. These families are workers - on the white man's farm. Their wages are partly in kind, half a bag of corn, and partly in cash, two dollars a month. For their payment, the children are allowed to pick damaged fruit for themselves. These are the fruits, mangos, pineapples and oranges, which make the after-dinner desserts of the Western world. Because the wages are so low, those left on the farm are mostly old men, women and children. They are squatters on the white farms and have to pay a squatters' tax.

All South Africans are registered by the government according to race. The families of these Indian girls work for the sugar estate. Theirs is a life contract. Often, if only one member of the family leaves his work, the entire family is evicted from the land. This is one of the places provided for Indians to live. They call this place Tin Town.

There is one exception to the classification of races in South Africa. Japanese are considered honorary whites by the government. Japan and South Africa do $264 million worth of business.

There are remote areas in South Africa set aside by the government as homelands for the blacks. Much of the land is unfit for agriculture. No precious minerals have been discovered here. Under the government's plan for separate development of the races, these areas would be the only places where blacks could live. In this area, half the chilfen die before they are five. The rate of infant mortality for black babies is ten times the rate for white babies. Malnutrition has tripled here in the past three years. The staple diet is made up of corn, beans and sour porridge.

The black population is expected to live off the land. In order to survive, they are moving large numbers to the cities, to the land of "whites only." All blacks are temporary visitors in the urban area. They are not there by right. They are there as long as they are needed to serve the needs of the white man. The blacks cannot linger long in the city after work. There is a curfew for blacks in all urban areas which starts between 9:00 and 11:00 at night and lasts until 6:00 the following morning. During the curfew period all blacks are liable to arrest unless they carry a special

pass from an employer stating the reason for their presence in the white area. Therefore, at the end of the day they must make their long way back to the black townships.

In South Africa, the movement of all blacks, of two-thirds of the population, is strictly controlled by law. If you are over 16 years of age, you must carry a passbook. It is a complete personal record, 90 pages long, which must be shown on demand. Failure to have your passbook on your person at all times is a crime. The effect of this is that no black person can work, travel, get married, withdraw money from an account, in fact cannot be buried unless his passbook is in order. In South Africa, the black is a foreigner. He is without rights in his own land.

HART: As we said in the beginning, few American reporters get in to see whatever they want to see in the separate worlds of South Africa. But for some reason, Carl Rowan did get in this fall and he doesn't know the reason. He had been trying to get into South Africa for 14 years. Mr. Rowan has been Director of the U.S. Information Agency and our Ambassador to Finland. Before that, and since, he has been a newspaperman and a syndicated columnist. CBS News asked both Mr. Rowan and a spokesman for the South African government to view this film and comment on it. The South Africans did not accept. Mr. Rowan did.

ROWAN: The major deficiency of this film is that it does not tell enough of the truth about injustice and human degradation in South Africa. It does not show the fear that protects the status quo. There is the black man's fear of the paid informer, the secret police. I remember four Africans speaking in uneasy whispers in a black township. Finally one said to me: "We have known each other for 20 years, but we can't trust each other. We can't be sure which is the informer." That kind of fear makes men docile, rebellion hard to organize. Then there is the white man's fear. Fear of ostracism, or even jail,if he criticizes his government.

Is there hope for peaceful change? Almost none. I still can hear the Afrikaner magazine editor telling me bluntly that whites will never willingly share political power with black men. "If the African becomes top dog," he told me, "he'll have to do it by force."

I saw first-hand the array of police state laws and tactics designed to keep Africans from organizing any force. Those who even murmur about an uprising may be banned, banished, exiled, jailed - or may simply disappear. It is this that caused a young black woman in a pottery factory outside Pretoria to whisper to me: "Mister, we no longer have hope. We no longer have hope."

Is there any hope? I left South Afruca convinced that positive change will come only under intense pressure from an outside world that cares. But how many outsiders truly care? An American businessman in Johannesburg said to me: "My company sent me here to make a profit, and that's all that matters." Many Africans

think that man speaks for most of America. If you tell them that oppressive racism is a burden on the conscience of millions of Americans, they just shrug. They say that we deplore, and we ignore, and the shame goes on.

ANNOUNCER: "A Black View of South Africa" will continue.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

HART: Tonight we have had some samples of how black people live in South Africa as seen and filmed by some of them. They were not journalists or photographers, and they didn't pretend to tell us everything or give us the whole truth; just some things that they know about that are true. They smuggled the pictures out to expose us to their feelings as much as their conditions, hoping to remind us with the bits and pieces they put together that human beings can come to endure nearly anything, especially when they don' have a choice. And that governments too can abide a lot of things, even when they have a choice.

Perhaps what we've really seen though is a troubling reminder of something in us that we abide, something we'd rather forget - and probably will any minute now.

I'm John Hart. Good night.